

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

20

ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY S:RWAHERNE:GH

APPROVED BY S:RWAHERNE

S/S: JLHOGANSON

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

S ONLY

----- 114106

O 070256Z MAY 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:CHIZUK AMUNO SPEECH, BALTIMORE, MAY 9, DRAFT IV

REF SECTO 11390

FOR COVEY FROM AHERNE

FOLLOWING NEW DRAFT OF BALTIMORE SPEECH TAKES ACCOUNT
OF COMMENTS REFTEL, AS WELL AS COMMENTS OF S/P.

1. BEGIN TEXT: GOVERNOR MANDEL, SENATORS MATHIAS AND BEALL,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

2. THE STATE OF MARYLAND HAS HAD AN INCREASING NUMBER OF

OUT OF STATE VISITORS DURING RECENT WEEKS, AND I EXPECT THEIR

NUMBER WILL INCREASE BETWEEN NOW AND MAY 18 (N.B. MARYLAND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

PRIMARY DAY). I TRUST YOU WILL WELCOME ALL OF THEM AS

WARMLY AS YOU HAVE WELCOMED ME THIS EVENING -- ALTHOUGH

THEY WILL CLEARLY HAVE TO WORK A LITTLE HARDER

FOR THEIR REWARDS IN MARYLAND THAN I HAVE HAD TO WORK FOR

THE AWARD I AM PRIVILEGED TO RECEIVE TONIGHT.

3. I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE HONOR YOU DO ME TODAY -- AFTER

THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW MONTHS I HAD COME TO BELIEVE

THAT I WOULD NEVER AGAIN RECEIVE A KIND WORD FROM A

"CONSERVATIVE" ORGANIZATION.

4. IT IS NICE TO GO TO AN AWARDS

CEREMONY WHERE ONE RECEIVES SOMETHING. A FEW WEEKS AGO

THE FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

INVITED ME TO AN AWARDS CEREMONY. I MADE A FEW REMARKS

AND THEN THEY STARTED TO HAND OUT THE YEAR'S AWARDS.

A NUMBER OF RETIRED AMBASSADORS AND OTHER DIGNITARIES CAME

FORWARD TO RECEIVE ONE OR ANOTHER COMMENDATION. BEFORE

LONG THE CEREMONY WAS OVER, BUT MY NAME HAD NOT BEEN CALLED.

5. I FELT A LITTLE BIT LIKE THE BRIDE LEFT AT THE STEPS

OF THE CHURCH. BUT AT LEAST THEY DID NOT PRESENT ME WITH

A FAREWELL GIFT.

6. I AM DELIGHTED TO BE ABLE TO SHARE THE PLATFORM THIS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

EVENING WITH GOVERNOR MANDEL AND WITH THE TWO FINE MEN WHOM

MARYLAND HAS SENT TO THE US SENATE. SENATORS MATHIAS AND

BEALL HAVE BEEN INTELLIGENT, INDEPENDENT AND EFFECTIVE IN

CARRYING OUT THEIR RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE AREA

OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND I VALUE THEIR STATESMANSHIP.

7. AS YOU KNOW, SENATOR MATHIAS HAS JUST RETURNED FROM

THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE HE WAS THE RANKING MEMBER OF THE

FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE. I WANTED SENATOR MATHIAS TO MAKE THIS TRIP
BECAUSE HIS JUDGMENT AND PERSPECTIVE ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
PROGRAMS IS HIGHLY RESPECTED BOTH IN OUR BRANCH OF GOVERN-
MENT AND IN HIS.

8. SENATOR BEALL -- IN ADDITION TO HIS UNDERSTATED STYLE
AT MAKING INTRODUCTIONS (N.B. BEALL WILL HAVE INTRODUCED
YOU AND WE UNDERSTAND HIS LANGUAGE MAY BE A BIT ROCOCO) --
CARRIES A STRONG VOICE IN THE SENATE ON VITAL ISSUES OF
NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN TRADE.

9. IN THIS ELECTION YEAR THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO ARE
DISCOVERING THE VIRTUES OF A STRONG DEFENSE. THERE ARE
OTHERS WHO HAVE BEEN DOING SOMETHING ABOUT IT FOR A NUMBER
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837
OF YEARS. THE NEW SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE HAS A GREAT
DEAL TO SAY ABOUT WHAT SORT OF NATIONAL SECURITY POSTURE
THIS NATION PRESENTS TO THE WORLD. VERY OFTEN ON THESE
CRITICAL MATTERS THE BUDGET COMMITTEE SPEAKS BY A ONE-
VOTE MARGIN. SENATOR BEALL HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN THAT ONE VOTE
AND I WOULD BE REMISS IN NOT TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TELL
YOU HOW IMPORTANT HIS SUPPORT HAS BEEN.

10. I WANT TO TAKE A FEW MOMENTS THIS EVENING -- IN THE
MIDST OF AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN WHICH BY ITS NATURE IS FOCUSED
ON THE CONCRETE AND TACTICAL PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY,
RATHER THAN ON ITS STRATEGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK --
TO DISCUSS OUR OBJECTIVES AND OPPORTUNITIES, AND THE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR BROADER FOREIGN POLICY AND OUR
TIES WITH ISRAEL.

11. OUR COMMITMENT IN THE WORLD IS TODAY, AS IT HAS ALWAYS
BEEN, A COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND PROGRESS FOR ALL.

12. BUT BOTH OF THESE ELOQUENTLY SIMPLE NOTIONS MEAN
LITTLE IF THEY ARE NOT SUPPORTED BY THAT MASSIVE ENERGY
AND CREATIVITY WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNIQUELY POSSESS.

NEITHER PEACE NOR PROGRESS IS, SADLY, IN THE NATURAL
ORDER OF THINGS.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

13. TODAY WE CAN LOOK WITH SOME PRIDE ON WHERE WE STAND
ON BOTH COUNTS.

14. AFTER 35 YEARS OF INTERMITTENT CONFLICT, NO AMERICAN
IS AT WAR ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD TODAY. NOR ARE WE
IMMINENTLY THREATENED, IN A MILITARY SENSE, DESPITE THE
DANGERS AND FLASH POINTS WHICH CONFRONT US. OUR READI-
NESS, OUR RESOLVE, AND OUR DETERMINATION TO WORK FOR PEACE
THROUGH STRENGTH HAVE PAID TANGIBLE DIVIDENDS.

15. ECONOMICALLY WE AND THE GREAT INDUSTRIALIZED
DEMOCRACIES HAVE SHOWN ONCE AGAIN THE RESILENCY AND BASIC
SOUNDNESS OF OUR FREE MARKET SYSTEMS. WE HAVE COME THROUGH
A PERIOD OF PERSISTENT RECESSION, FUELED BY OIL PRICE
INCREASES, SUCCESSFULLY -- AND WE ARE ONCE AGAIN VIGOROUSLY

CONFIDENTIAL
MOVING TOWARD GREATER PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS.

16. FROM THE EARLY DAYS OF OUR INDEPENDENCE OUR FOUNDING
FATHERS BASED THEIR HOPES FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY -- AT

HOME AND ABROAD -- ON A COMBINATION OF FAITH AND FORESIGHT

WHICH OUR GENERATION MAY WELL ENVY.

17. THEY HAD FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF A FREE PEOPLE. AND

THEY HAD THE FORESIGHT TO UNDERSTAND, AS EDUMUND BURKE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

SAID, THAT "YOU CAN NEVER PLAN THE FUTURE BY THE PAST."

18. FAITH AND FORESIGHT ARE JUST AS MUCH A PART OF THE

PROCESS OF POLICYMAKING TODAY AS THEY WERE 200 YEARS AGO.

FAITH, BECAUSE WE ARE A NATION OF 220 MILLION AMERICAN MEN

AND WOMEN WHOSE DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM TRANSCENDS

PARTISANSHIP AND ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL STATION.

19. FORESIGHT, BECAUSE WHILE WE MUST LEARN FROM THE PAST,

WE ARE NOT, AND MUST NOT BECOME, ITS PRISONER.

20. PERHAPS NOWHERE IN THE COMPLEX WEB OF RELATIONSHIPS

WE MAINTAIN WITH OTHER NATIONS ARE FAITH AND FORESIGHT SO

NECESSARY AS IN OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY --AND IN OUR

RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL.

21. INDEED THOSE QUALITIES HAVE CHARACTERIZED THAT RELA-

TIONSHIP -- ON BOTH SIDES -- SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE

STATE OF ISRAEL. AND THEY WILL BE MORE NECESSARY THAN EVER

AS WE CONTINUE, WITH DETERMINATION AND FIRMNESS, ON THE

ROAD TO A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR WHAT

LIES AHEAD IS ALMOST CERTAINLY GOING TO BE MORE DIFFICULT --

BUT NONETHELESS MORE URGENTLY NEEDED -- THAN THE STEPS WE

HAVE TAKEN THUS FAR.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

22. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO BEAR IN MIND THAT OUR RELATIONS
WITH ISRAEL ARE NOT IN ANY IMPORTANT RESPECT SEPARATED
FROM THE BROAD CONCEPT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THAT POLICY
IS FOUNDED ON RECOGNITION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS CERTAIN
LONG-TERM INTERESTS IN THE WORLD. THESE ARE:

-- A COMMITMENT TO THE MORAL BASIS OF OUR OWN REVOLUTION;

-- A STRONG DEFENSE;

-- A STABLE PEACE; AND

-- A PROSPEROUS WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER.

23. THESE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES RELATE
VERY DIRECTLY TO OUR CONCERN FOR THE SURVIVAL AND WELL-
BEING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

24. (SUBHEADING UNDERSCORED) MORALITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

25. STEADFAST FIDELITY TO THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF
OUR REVOLUTION IS A DEMANDING STANDARD FOR, AS GLADSTONE
SAID, "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES WAS THE
GREATEST POLITICAL INSTRUMENT EVER STRUCK OFF ON A SINGLE
OCCASION BY THE MINDS OF MEN."

26. THE GENIUS OF AMERICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN ITS MORAL
SIGNIFICANCE IN THE WORLD. SINCE ITS BIRTH AMERICA HAS
HELD A PROMISE AND A DREAM TO WHICH OTHERS HAVE CLUNG,
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

AND SOMETIMES EMULATED.

27. BECAUSE OF THIS AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MISSIONAR-
IES, IN A WAY; WE HAVE BEEN CHAMPIONS OF LIBERTY AND
PROGRESS FOR ALL MANKIND, AND WE HAVE KNOWN THAT, AND

BEEN MADE STRONG BY IT. WE HAVE BEEN THE BULWARK OF
DEMOCRACY, A REFUGE FOR THOSE FLEEING PERSECUTION, AND
THE MOST GENEROUS, MOST HUMANITARIAN NATION IN THE HISTORY
OF THE WORLD.

28. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II GLOBAL PEACE AND
PROSPERITY HAVE DEPENDED TO AN EXTRAORDINARY DEGREE UPON
AMERICA. THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD AMERICA'S MIGHT HAS
ALWAYS BEEN USED TO DEFEND, NEVER TO OPPRESS. SO IT WILL
BE IN THE FUTURE.

29. IN PART I BELIEVE IT IS THIS HERITAGE WHICH EXPLAINS
AMERICA'S STRONG COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL. THOSE WHO HAVE
SUFFERED FROM THE LACK OF MORALITY -- AS HAVE THE JEWISH
PEOPLE -- KNOW IN A SENSE WHICH OTHERS CAN ONLY IMAGINE
HOW NECESSARY THE MORAL BASIS FOR POLICY IS.

30. PEACE WITH JUSTICE HAS A SPECIAL MEANING FOR THOSE
WHO HAVE, THROUGH HISTORY, SOUGHT IT SO FERVENTLY, BUT
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

EXPERIENCED IT SO RARELY. THOSE WHO HAVE HAD WRONG DONE
TO THEM SO OFTEN KNOW THAT TRUE PEACE CAN ONLY COME ABOUT
AS A RESULT OF UNRELENTING ATTACHMENT TO WHAT IS RIGHT.

31. AMERICANS LOOK UPON ISRAEL AS A LOYAL FRIEND COMMITTED,
AS ARE WE, TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.
WE VALUE THE PART WE PLAYED IN CREATING THE STATE OF ISRAEL.
WE WILL NEVER FORGET OUR MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE
OF SMALLER NATIONS WHO RELY UPON US AS THE ULTIMATE
DEFENDER OF THEIR SURVIVAL AND FREEDOM, AND THAT ISRAEL'S

FATE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE FUTURE OF HUMAN DIGNITY.

32. NOR WILL WE FORGET THAT THE TRUE TEST OF FRIENDSHIP --

ITS TRUE STRENGTH -- LIES IN THE FACT THAT ONLY FRIENDS

CAN DISCUSS CANDIDLY MUTUAL PROBLEMS. SUCH EXCHANGES

WILL INCREASE THE CHANCES FOR LASTING PEACE, SO LONG AS

BOTH COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THAT THE EXCHANGES ARE PROMPTED BY

MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP AND COMMON INTEREST.

33. DURING THE UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF THE PALESTINE

QUESTION OVER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, A U.S. DIPLOMAT

EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT, "THE DAY WILL COME WHEN THE JEWS

AND ARABS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL LIVE TOGETHER IN THE TRUE

SPIRIT OF CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD." WHILE WE MAY WONDER AT
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

THE CLARITY OF THOUGHT THAT LAY BEHIND THE HOPE, WE CANNOT

QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE UNDERLYING INTENTION -- AND

THAT SINCERITY PERSISTS TODAY IN OUR RELATIONSHIP

34. OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE CLOSELY LINKED, AND THE

FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTH OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL AND OF ITS

SURVIVAL IS MORAL. BUT OUR POLICIES TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE

OTHER NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, MUST INCLUDE A HEALTHY

ELEMENT OF PRAGMATISM AND REALISM IF LASTING PEACE IS EVER

TO BE ACHIEVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

35. (UNDERScoreD SUBHEADING) A STRONG DEFENSE

36. IF THE VALUES WHICH WE AND ISRAEL SHARE ARE TO BE

PRESERVED THEN AMERICAN STRATEGIC FORCES MUST BE SUFFICIENT

TO DETER ATTACK AND MAINTAIN THE NUCLEAR BALANCE. OUR

CONVENTIONAL FORCES TOGETHER WITH THOSE OF OUR ALLIES,

MUST BE CAPABLE OF RESISTING THREAT AND PRESSURE AND ATTACK.

37. WE MUST CLEARLY UNDERSTAND IN THIS CONTEXT THAT AN
EFFECTIVE SECURITY POSTURE -- AN EFFECTIVE DEFENSE -- FOR
THE UNITED STATES IS AN INDIVISIBLE WHOLE. WE AND THOSE
WHO SHARE OUR INTERESTS CANNOT BE SEEN TO LOSE ONE ELEMENT
OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE WHO OPPOSE US IN ONE PART
OF THE WORLD AND EXPECT TO AVERT DEFEAT IN ANOTHER. SO
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 11 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

THOSE WHO WANT AMERICA STRONG IN ONE PART OF THE WORLD
HAVE A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO MAKE IT STRONG IN ALL AREAS
WHICH ARE STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT. REPETITION OF WHAT
HAPPENED IN ANGOLA CANNOT FAIL TO DOWNGRADE OUR SECURITY
POSTURE AND OUR EFFECTIVENESS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD --
AND BY EXTENSION OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT THE INTEGRITY AND
SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

37. THE CURRENT DEBATE THUS FAR IN THIS ELECTION YEAR
INDICATES WIDE POPULAR SUPPORT FOR A STRONG NATIONAL
DEFENSE. THIS YEAR'S DEFENSE BUDGET WILL ALLOW US TO
CONTINUE TO IMPROVE OUR MILITARY FORCES -- DEPLOYING
MULTIPLE WARHEADS, IMPROVING MISSILE ACCURACY, MOVING
FORWARD WITH THE NEW STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND SUBMARINES,
EXPANDING OUR ARMY FROM 13 TO 16 DIVISIONS, EXPANDING OUR
NAVAL CONSTRUCTION -- TO INSURE THAT NO OTHER NATION CAN
THREATEN US OR OUR INTERESTS.

38. THE UNITED STATES WILL ALSO KEEP ISRAEL STRONG
ENOUGH TO DEFEND ITSELF -- TO ENSURE THAT PEACE IS SEEN
CLEARLY TO BE THE ONLY FEASIBLY COURSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

39. WE WILL NEVER ABANDON ISRAEL. WE WILL NOT FAIL TO
PROVIDE THE ASSISTANCE ISRAEL MUST HAVE TO MAINTAIN ITS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 12 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

INDEPENDENCE.

40. RECENTLY AMERICAN AID TO ISRAEL HAS ACCELERATED FROM
A TOTAL OF 473 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1973 TO A PROJECTED
2.3 BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR -- A
FIVE FOLD INCREASE IN THREE YEARS. U.S. ASSISTANCE TO
ISRAEL HAS TOTALLED MORE THAN SIX BILLION DOLLARS SINCE
1948. ISRAEL NOW RECEIVES ABOUT A THIRD OF OUR TOTAL
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. THIS IS A CONVINCING DEMONSTRATION
OF THE BREADTH AND DEPTH OF AMERICA'S DEDICATION TO THE
FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

41. THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR THE PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH
WHICH WE SEEK. FROM WATERLOO TO SARAJEVO AMERICA
BENEFITED FROM THE EXISTENCE OF A WORLD BALANCE OF POWER
WHICH MAINTAINED GLOBAL STABILITY AND PREVENTED INTERNATIONAL
WAR. THAT RESPONSIBILITY NOW RESTS, IN LARGE MEASURE,
WITH US. IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY WE SHALL NOT SHIRK; IT
IS A RESPONSIBILITY THAT A STRONG, CONFIDENT AND SECURE
ISRAEL CAN SHARE AS WE WORK TOGETHER TO BRING PEACE TO
THE MIDDLE EAST.

42. BUT STRENGTH ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH. IT IS USEFUL ONLY
AS PART OF A STRATEGIC CONCEPT WHICH SYNTHESIZES THE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 13 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

ELEMENTS OF PEACE, THE DELINEATION OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS,
AND THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR STRENGTHS - NOT MERELY MILITARY
STRENGTH, BUT THE STRENGTH OF A FREE PEOPLE WHICH KNOWS
AND ACCEPTS ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND
ABOVE ALL MORAL PLACE IN THE WORLD. REMEMBER THAT THE UNITED
STATES HAS NEVER BEEN DEFEATED FOR LACK OF MILITARY
STRENGTH. OUR SETBACKS, WHEN THEY HAVE OCCURRED, HAVE
COME ABOUT BECAUSE OF DIVISIONS AMONG OURSELVES.

43. TOGETHER THERE IS LITTLE WE CANNOT DO. DIVIDED, THERE
IS LITTLE WE SHOULD ATTEMPT.

44. (SUBHEADING UNDERSCORED) TO MAINTAIN A STABLE PEACE

45. PEACE MUST BE MORE THAN THE ABSENCE OF WAR. PEACE
CLEARLY RESTS, FIRST AND FOREMOST, UPON THE MAINTENANCE
OF A GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER. THERE CAN BE NO SECURITY
WITHOUT THIS EQUILIBRIUM, AND NO SAFETY WITHOUT RESTRAINT.
ONLY WHEN THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS ARE RESPECTED, WHEN
ACCOMMODATION SUPPLANTS FORCE, CAN MANKIND'S ENERGIES
BE DEVOTED TO THE REALIZATION OF ITS HIGHER ASPIRATIONS.

46. THE STORY OF DAVID AND GOLIATH ILLUSTRATES THAT
NAKED POWER IS NEVER SUFFICIENT TO SAFEGUARD OUR VALUES

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 14 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

AND OUR INTERESTS. PEACE DEPENDS, RATHER, ON THE SKILL
WITH WHICH WE EMPLOY OUR POWER. WE MUST CORRECTLY PER-
CEIVE WHERE OUR TRUE NATIONAL INTERESTS, AND THOSE OF OUR
FRIENDS, LIE, AND BE READY AND WILLING TO DEFEND OR
ADVANCE THOSE INTERESTS WHEN THE OCCASION DEMANDS IT. TO

DO THAT, WE MUST, AMONG OTHER THINGS, BE UNITED AT HOME
IN SUPPORT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WE MUST MOVE AWAY FROM
THE SELF-FLAGELLATION OF THE PAST FEW YEARS TO A NEW
NATIONAL CONSENSUS.

47. WE MUST IN SHORT, AS WE HAVE ALWAYS DONE, USE OUR
PAST TO BUILD OUR FUTURE. AND WE MUST NOT BECOME SO
OBSESSED WITH THE VICARIOUS THRILL WHICH 20-20 HINDSIGHT
PROVIDES THAT WE NEGLECT TO SHARPEN OUR FORESIGHT.

48. WE MUST BOTH MAINTAIN THE BALANCE OF POWER
AND HAVE THE WILL, INTELLIGENCE AND RESOLVE TO USE OUR
POWER WISELY, AND WHEN NECESSARY. WE MUST LOOK BEYOND
THE HORIZON AND CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR A SAFER AND MORE
DURABLE PATTERN OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. WE MUST
VIGILANTLY PROTECT OUR OWN SECURITY, AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES
AND FRIENDS AND WE MUST BUILD HABITS OF RESTRAINT, OF
COMMUNICATION, AND OF COOPERATION. WE MUST WORK WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 15 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

REALISM AND WITH DEDICATION TO ENGAGE NATIONS OF DIFFERENT
IDEOLOGIES OR POLITICAL CONVICTIONS IN RECIPROCAL
MEASURES TO SLOW THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, TO RESOLVE POLITI-
CAL PROBLEMS THROUGH NEGOTIATION, AND MUTUALLY TO EXPAND
OUR RELATIONS AS POLITICAL CONDITIONS WARRANT.

49. WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THIS PROCESS; IT IS
MEANT TO SERVE, NOT TO SACRIFICE, OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS
AND VALUES. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE
STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE COM-
MUNIST POWERS IS VASTLY MORE BENEFICIAL TO US AND TO

GLOBAL PEACE AND PROGRESS TODAY THAN EVEN TEN YEARS AGO --
WHEN CRISES WERE MORE FREQUENT, WHEN COMMUNICATION WAS
LESS DEVELOPED, AND WHEN COOPERATION WAS ONLY BEGINNING.

50. TO BUILD RESTRAINT INTO THE NUCLEAR RIVALRY, WE HAVE
SOUGHT AND ACHIEVED A SERIES OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION. TO PURSUE THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE --
A STRATEGIC ARMS RACE-- WOULD MEAN HIGHER COSTS, HEIGHTENED
TENSIONS AND THE DIVERSION OF EFFORT AWAY FROM OUR FORCES
FOR REGIONAL DEFENSE, WHERE IMBALANCES COULD BE TURNED
RAPIDLY AGAINST US.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 16 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

51. EVEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TIME AND EVENTS HAVE BROUGHT
US TO A NEW AND HOPEFUL THRESHOLD. TODAY WE HAVE BEFORE
US AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD THE PEACE
OF WHICH WE ALL HAVE DREAMED -- A PEACE IN THE INTERESTS
OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF A REGION THAT HAS ALREADY EXPERI-
ENCED MORE THAN ENOUGH ANGUISH AND TRAGEDY.

-- SOME OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE NOW AT LAST SPEAKING
OPENLY AND WISELY OF MAKING PEACE AND ENDING GENERATIONS
OF CONFLICT.

-- THE UNITED STATES HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS WILLING -- EVEN
DETERMINED -- AND ABLE TO PROMOTE A JUST AND ENDURING
SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT WHICH HAS PLAGUED THE MIDDLE
EAST FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

-- IF WE CONTINUE TO CONDUCT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
MAJOR OUTSIDE POWERS WITH REASON AND FIRMNESS, WE CAN

MOVE TOWARD A GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT OF RESTRAINT THAT WILL
ENHANCE THE POSSIBILITIES OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE
MIDDLE EAST.

52. ISRAEL HAS SHOWN IN RECENT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MUCH
OF THE COURAGE FOR WHICH IT IS RENOWNED, AND THAT IN
TURN HAS MADE POSSIBLE CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD A PEACEFUL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 17 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

RESOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. OBVIOUSLY, PRO-
FOUND PROBLEMS REMAIN. FOREMOST AMONG THESE IS THE FACT
THAT IN ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH HER NEIGHBORS ISRAEL
WILL BE ASKED TO EXCHANGE TERRITORY FOR PROGRESS TOWARDS
PEACE. WE DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTIES SUCH
A DECISION POSES FOR ISRAEL; WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT ONLY
BY SUCH DIFFICULT DECISIONS CAN THE PARTIES CONCERNED
CONTINUE THE MOMENTUM TOWARDS PEACE.

53. SO THE PROSPECT OF ACHIEVING PEACE PRESENTS ISRAEL
WITH MANY INEVITABLE AND AGONIZING DECISIONS. ALL OF US
WHO ARE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL AND WHO ARE DEDICATED TO FURTHER
PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE SHARE THAT AGONY -- AT THE SAME TIME
WE RECOGNIZE ITS INEVITABILITY. THROUGHOUT THESE STEPS --
STEPS WHICH MUST BE TAKEN -- WE OWE ISRAEL OUR UNDERSTAND-
EPS WHICH MUST BE TAKEN -- WE OWE ISRAEL OUR UNDERSTAND-
ING AND SOLIDARITY.

54. OUR CONFIDENCE THAT FUTURE PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE IS
BOLSTERED BY THE SUCCESSES OF THE PAST FEW YEARS. THE
UNITED STATES IS THE ONLY PARTY WHICH HAS --AND WHICH COULD
HAVE -- FACILITATED THE MAJOR STEPS TOWARD PEACE THAT HAVE

ALREADY BEEN TAKEN. DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 18 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

NEGOTIATED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND SYRIA

WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT BY ALL SIDES. THE SINAI

AGREEMENT OF LAST SEPTEMBER BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT,

THE STRONG FRIENDSHIPS WE NOW HAVE WITH BOTH EGYPT AND

ISRAEL, AND OUR RENEWED RELATIONS WITH MANY ARAB NATIONS

ARE THE GROUNDWORK FOR FURTHER STEPS, WHICH ARE NOW

MORE URGENT AND MORE POSSIBLE THAN EVER BEFORE. MUCH

WORK AND MANY DANGERS -- MOST IMMEDIATELY THE SITUATION

IN LEBANON -- REMAIN, BUT THE PEACE PROCESS HAS COME

FURTHER THAN ALL BUT A VERY FEW DARED HOPE.

55. AS THE PROCESS CONTINUES, WE WILL NOT WEAKEN ISRAEL

BY FAILING TO PERCEIVE ITS NEEDS -- OR BY FAILING TO UNDER-

STAND ITS DILEMMAS

56. (UNDERScoreD SUBHEADING) A PROSPEROUS WORLD ECONOMIC

ORDER

57. A DOMINANT ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR THE

NEXT GENERATION WILL BE THE ECONOMIC DIVISION ON OUR

PLANET BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH -- INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOP-

ING -- WHICH HAS BECOME AS PRESSING AN ISSUE AS THE

DIVISION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 19 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

58. PEACE WOULD BE FRAGILE, INDEED, IN A WORLD OF

ECONOMIC STAGNATION OR FRUSTRATION. AN ERA OF RESENTMENT

AND ECONOMIC WARFARE BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH, RICH AND POOR, WOULD BE AN ERA OF INSTABILITY. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS BEEN REMINDED DRAMATICALLY BY THE OIL EMBARGO AND ENSUING GLOBAL RECESSION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH ECONOMIC RELATIONS ARE AN ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. THEREFORE, AS WE MUST SEEK TO MOVE BEYOND A BALANCE OF POWER IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, SO MUST WE TRANSCEND TESTS OF STRENGTH IN NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS AND SEEK TO BUILD A TRUE WORLD COMMUNITY.

59. WE MUST DO SO IN OUR OWN SELF INTEREST. AS THE WORLD'S STRONGEST POWER, THE UNITED STATES COULD SURVIVE AN ERA OF ECONOMIC WARFARE. BUT WE: AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD NOT BE TRUE TO OURSELVES WERE WE TO SEEK ONLY THE HOLLOW VICTORY OF SURVIVAL AMIDST A WORLD OF DEPRIVATION AND RESENTMENT. FOR WORLD PEACE, AS WELL AS FOR MORAL PURPOSE, AMERICA WILL SEEK TO TURN THE GLOBE'S ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE INTO THE BEGINNING OF A COMMUNITY OF GLOBAL COOPERATION.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 20 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

60. ISRAEL FACES SERIOUS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN THE YEARS AHEAD, PARTLY BECAUSE -- LET US FACE IT SQUARELY -- MOSES HAD SOME SHORTCOMINGS AS A PETROLEUM GEOLOGIST. IN PLACE OF NATURAL RESOURCES, ISRAEL'S ECONOMY MUST BE DRIVEN BY CREATIVITY, HARD WORK AND DETERMINATION -- ASSETS FORTUNATELY NOT IN SHORT SUPPLY IN THAT PRODUCTIVE LAND. TO PROSPER, ISRAEL MUST HAVE ACCESS TO WORLD MARKETS,

AND COUNTRIES AND COMPANIES THAT WISH TO TRADE WITH HER
MUST BE FREE TO DO SO.

61. THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO HELP ISRAEL'S
ECONOMY OVERCOME WORLD RECESSION, HIGHER PETROLEUM PRICES
AND THE COSTS OF A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE. THE UNITED
STATES IS COMMITTED TO ENDING RESTRICTIONS ON ISRAEL'S
RIGHTS TO TRADE AND ON THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS TO TRADE
WITH ISRAEL -- EVENTUALLY AS A RESULT OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST, AND IN THE INTERIM BY WHATEVER POLICIES MAY PROVE
POSSIBLE.

62. ISRAEL TOO HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT IS READY TO MAKE
ITS OWN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS WHICH FUEL THE NORTH-SOUTH CONTROVERSY. THE
IMAGINATION AND CREATIVITY WHICH THE PIONEERING SETTLERS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 21 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

OF ISRAEL USED TO MAKE THE DESERT BLOOM HAVE OBVIOUS
POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND IT IS A
TRIBUTE TO ISRAEL'S VISION AND GENEROSITY THAT IT HAS
OFFERED TO MAKE THE FRUITS OF ITS EXPERIENCE AVAILBLE
OFFERED TO MAKE THE FRUITS OF ITS EXPERIENCE AVAILBLE
TO OTHER NATIONS. WE SUPPORT THOSE INITIATIVES AND
WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO ASSIST THEM.

63. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
ISRAEL IS UNIQUE IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONS. ON THE ONE
HADN IT IS BASED ON A PROFOUND MORAL AND EMOTIONAL
COMMITMENT; ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS STRENGTHENED BY A
SUBSTANTIAL AREA OF COMMON INTEREST. AS AMERICA MAKES
PROGRESS TOWARD ITS BROADER OBJECTIVES IN THE WORLD,

ISRAEL BENEFITS. AND AS WE FAIL TO MAKE PROGRESS -- AS
DOMESTIC DIVISION AND DEBATE OVER THE PROPER ROLE OF THE
UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS SAP OUR STRENGTH -- ISRAEL
AND HER INTERESTS WILL SUFFER.

64. SO LET US UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THE TRUE NATURE AND DEPTH
OF THE RELATIONSHIP. LET US UNDERSTAND THAT -- PERHAPS
AS NOWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD -- THE UNITED STATES AND
ISRAEL SHARE BOTH MORAL PURPOSE AND PRACTICAL INTEREST.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 22 STATE 110554 TOSEC 110837

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS OUR COMMON DREAM; THE ROAD
TOWARD THAT DREAM IS ONE WE MUST TRAVEL TOGETHER OR WE
CANNOT TRAVEL IT AT ALL.

65. WE HAVE ALREADY COME SO FAR AND ACHIEVED SO MUCH
THAT WE DARE NOT -- WE CANNOT -- TURN BACK. AND IF WE
PERSEVERE WE SURELY SHALL REACH THE TIME WHEN ALL THE
PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST CAN ORDER THEIR LIVES IN ACCOR-
DANCE WITH THE WORDS OF GENESIS: "LET THERE BE NO
STRIFE, I PRAY THEE, BETWEEN ME AND THEE -- FOR WE ARE
BRETHREN." END TEXT SISCO

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 MAY 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: vogelfj
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE110554
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S:RWAHERNE:GH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197605109/baaaeext.tel
Line Count: 961
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 18
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vogelfj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <13 AUG 2004 by vogelfj>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMUNO SPEECH, BALTIMORE, MAY 9, DRAFT IV
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006